1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

This story is followed by Bryant but does not occur in any accounts collected from Ngoni themselves. It seems probable therefore that this seceding section was not numerous or important.[27]

There are no other disruptions mentioned in the literature, and it seems probable therefore that until the death of Zwangendaba, the State remained largely intact. However the process, common in Bantu Africa, by which rival claimants to a throne succeed only in dividing their kingdom, operated with striking effect as soon as the founder of the State was buried. The elimination of segment 18 has sometimes been suggested as the reason why the State broke up, but it is clear from comparative considerations that a State of this kind was likely at any time to break into a number of independent groups, and that this tendency was greatest at the death or senescence of the king.

About 1840 a number of important people, mainly coming from south of the Zambezi, were killed off as a result of an internal struggle for power in which it appears that the recently captured Tumbuka, who were successful witch-finders, were allied with the Swazi and other Ndandwe against the Tsonga from the Delagoa Bay region.[28] Unfortunately there is very little information available on the relationship of this struggle to the rest of the political system. It is, however, clear that the effect of killing off a large number of Ngoni of Tsonga origin was insufficient to prevent the State breaking up a few years later.

When Zwangendaba died, his sons were still young and, for the time being, effective leadership of the State was disputed between men of his own generation whose positions are shown in Diagram 2. His brothers, the lords of segments 5 and 6, were already dead. Fraser describes the dispute as a struggle between Ntabeni's children and Mgayi. Ntabeni was a younger brother of Zwangendaba and the lord of segment 7 while Mgayi was Zwangendaba's father's younger brother's son who, on Chibambo's evidence, represented the interests of the residue of segment 1. Rangeley has a slightly different version and makes Mgayi a supporter of segment 4. Poole, presumably following Fraser, says with some qualification that Ntabeni and Mgayi both claimed the chieftainship. From what we know of the south-eastern Bantu, and from our knowledge of present-day Ngoni, it seems unlikely that a brother would claim to be the legitimate heir in preference to a son, however much he might strive to gain ascendancy over the son. It seems preferable to follow Young and Chibambo in regarding Ntabeni and Mgayi

[27] Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, pp. 146-7, 176; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 464 *f.*
[28] See p. 87.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

611 643 reigning lord of the segment. It is probable that in this instance the divergence of interest had been increased by the shooting of Nsingu, for Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu and grandson of Mpezeni I, was only a young boy and in the hands of guardians who were commoners and who might respond to pressure from their ward's father's paternal half-brother. So far as can be gathered from the published account of the meeting called by the Administration to [648] discuss the matter, the young Paramount was supported by the lords of segments 12, 14 and 17 and by the senior lieutenants of segment 10. He was opposed by the heads of segments 9, 13 and 16 and by the senior lieutenant of segment 4. Segment 15 seems not to have taken part in the dispute. Thus the main cleavage appears to have been between segments 10 and 12 on the one hand and the residue of 4 on the other. Segment 13, in terms of its structural position, was on the wrong side; this may have been connected with the fact that the regional governor of Mpezeni I who led segment 13 was born in the headquarters of segment 4. After a quarrel about succession to his father's office of lieutenant in that segment, he moved to segment 10 where he found favour with the chief and was later promoted to regional governor. In the 1903 dispute he apparently transferred his support back to his natal segment.[2]

The attempt to assume the name Zwangendaba failed. The young chief's supporters outnumbered their opponents at the meeting and his spokesmen argued that he had been recognized by all the other chiefs and by the Administration as Paramount of the whole Ngoni country. If his rival took the name he would be led to usurp the authority of the young Paramount. The Native Commissioner then ruled that the name could not be taken.

643 611 754 669 578 Throughout his reign Mpezeni II was opposed by a half-brother, a son of Nsingu by a different mother. This man was older than Mpezeni and claimed that his mother had really been Nsingu's great wife, or at least that Nsingu had intended to make her so before he was shot in 1898. This rivalry took two forms. He endeavoured to bring destruction to the chief and his cattle by sorcery, and on one occasion made what seems to have been a half-hearted attempt to kill him with a spear. At the same time he endeavoured to establish his own segment as a county of its own, and in this he was assisted by others who fancied themselves as chief of the proposed new county.[2] The sorcery failed, not only because it was merely sorcery, but also because sorcery and

[1] *N.E.R.G.G.*, i, 4 (1 August 1903), Supplement. See p. 35.
[2] See pp. 143*f*.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

divination are not well developed among the Ngoni as means of influencing action. The attempt to establish a new county failed for lack of Administrative support. Chiefs still continue to express their rivalries through sorcery, and would-be chiefs still attempt to establish new counties.

When Mpezeni II died, his heir was still young and was out of the country at boarding-school. A minor chief, after quarrelling with one of the dead chief's lieutenants about the funeral arrangements, proposed that the heir should remain at school to finish his education and that meanwhile there should be a regency. However the Administration arranged for the immediate return of the heir.

The rivalry between the Paramount Chief and his minor chiefs shows itself in other less dramatic ways. Thus the Paramount Chief's advisers told me that all cases coming on appeal from the courts of minor chiefs were heard in the Paramount Chief's own court of first instance, and that only if the verdict given there was not accepted was the case referred to the Appeal Court which was held at the administrative centre of the Paramount Chief's county every month. The minor chief's and their advisers told me that cases sent on appeal from them went direct to the Native Appeal Court, and emphasized that this court was composed of several minor chiefs and their councillors, called upon in rotation. In practice, as I observed in the course of my work, sometimes one procedure was followed, sometimes the other.

On the other hand, the minor chiefs and other politically important people support the Paramount Chief in his relations with the Administration. When recently Ngoni thought that the Administration was not treating the Paramount Chief with the respect due to his position, two minor chiefs endeavoured to organize a petition to the Administration on the matter. When the Paramount Chief's deputy was put in prison by the Administration for embezzlement, it was a minor chief who protested most strongly to the Administration. However dissatisfied the minor chiefs and people may be with any particular Paramount Chief, there is little dissatisfaction with the Paramount Chieftainship. This is still the feature of their organization which in Ngoni eyes most clearly marks them off from their neighbours, and which most clearly links them in their present lowly condition to the exploits of their illustrious forefathers.

3. *The chief's advisers*

The men who advise the chief, who enjoy his confidence and his hospitality, belong to a number of different categories. In each

643
644
512

not eat so much as other people. He must leave enough for others or he would be ashamed. He would take a few lumps of porridge from one wooden dish (*ingcwembe*) and then hand the other dishes to those around him. Each day one beast had to be killed from the house of each wife of the *inkosi* in turn. It was their food and they could not cease killing. The *inkosi* had his own great garden. After hoeing the *induna* of the *indlunkulu* called all the village people to come and plant these gardens first before their own. They did this because if a man was hungry, he went to the *inkosi* and said 'I am hungry' and he was given food to eat.

643
[754]

In this account it is clear that the daily life of the Paramount had both private and public aspects. In private he was vulnerable to attacks from enemies. Hence he depended on the services of a trusted attendant to see that no sorcerers could make bad magic from his excreta; and he ate no food except that prepared by his own wives and mothers. On the other hand, in public he appeared as the generous and ceremonious ruler, providing food, beer and snuff for his visitors, and himself practising that restraint in eating which was characteristic of Ngoni good manners both from host and guest.

[264
574]

643
651
431
527
571

In addition to the daily routine of sharing food with his immediate entourage and chance visitors, the Paramount had special feasts known as *izipheko*. These feasts, as described by Cibambo, were related to the bringing of tribute, thus emphasizing the reciprocal nature of the gifts passing between the people and the Paramount.

¶ Along with the tribute the *inkosi* had his feasts with which he wanted to feed his people. At an appointed time the *inkosi* and his wives and mothers prepared beer and three or four beasts for his men and women. Men ate their meat in the kraal but the women at the *indlunkulu*. All the people thanked him everywhere, including the women, and the men were thanking with dancing. Even although people were not called by the *inkosi*, yet many people came to his village to beg food from the *inkosi*. Also by telling the *izinduna* the *inkosi* would invite people to eat with him, and many would come from far away. The wives of the *inkosi* and his mothers were cooking soft or hard porridge, with different *imbido* (relishes) so that the *inkosi* could give them to his people. They would all be waiting in the kraal. A generous *inkosi* liked to stay in the kraal so that his food should be sent there in order to feed both notable people and poor people. He would be watching whom to give food to.

In this way although there was tribute (*imitulo*), it was not very burdensome. People did not complain to the *inkosi* about it. It was as if they were playing, because of the dancing. Those who had no wealth came to the *inkosi* and begged him to help them. The *inkosi* gave cattle to these people without asking them to pay again, because he said 'The people and the cattle, they are all mine. They are eating each other.'

'There was an apparent contradiction here. On the one hand there was true reciprocity, that of the people who brought tribute or gifts and in

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

anxious to protect her charge in every way, and with the connivance of the women helpers she made little charms of bits of roots to hang around the baby's neck to make him grow quickly and to ward off sorcery and witchcraft. She threaded pumpkin seeds and tied them around his neck to make his teeth come quickly if they were late in appearing. These charms were generally those used by the local peoples, and Ngoni fathers were contemptuous about their use and efficacy. 'These women are spoiling our children,' they said, and then reassured themselves by remembering that a boy would be free from such women's spoiling once he went into the boys' dormitory.

Variants on the Ngoni pattern

This traditional pattern of authority and behaviour in respect of birth, infant care and weaning was essentially that of the true Ngoni, that relatively small aristocratic group who never forgot their superior social status and its foundation in their ancestry. This first stage in the socialization of a child, from birth to weaning, brought out clearly two fundamental features of Ngoni social organization. One was the role played by the senior women who had themselves in their childhood been brought up on strict Ngoni lines. The father of the new baby accepted the role played by his own mother in controlling, and if necessary coercing, his young wife. Though, as we shall see later, every Ngoni boy and young man had a period of virtually complete escape from feminine control, once a man married and his young wife was established within the social group of his mother's house, he acknowledged his mother's authority over her, and particularly over the birth and care of his child. The mother-son relationship of the young father to his own mother dominated the relationship of the young mother to her child. Young Ngoni fathers never questioned their allegiance to their own mothers, cherishing them as they grew older and supporting them in their exercise of authority. Much as he loved his

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

Girls are not examined to see if they have been deflowered. Many girls have love affairs with young boys before they reach puberty, and at one time children built play-houses, after the manner of the Cewa, where they pretended to be adults playing at cooking and copulation. The Cewa encouraged this among their own children and at puberty Cewa girls, if not already deflowered, had their hymen forcibly ruptured in a prescribed manner. We have seen that the Ngoni formerly expected girls to be chaste before marriage while the Cewa believed that if a girl did not copulate at puberty she would die. It seems nowadays that adults expect that pre-pubescent boys and girls will play together sexually and that, provided this takes place with a certain amount of discretion, nothing is done to stop it. Boys and girls visit each other in dormitories, hoping that their voices will not be recognized by people in neighbouring huts. After puberty young men and women continue to flirt together, individuals varying in the extent to which they copulate. Grown men do not usually sleep with young girls, nor grown women with young boys, and if this does happen and is discovered there is always the suspicion of sorcery. The Ngoni believe, with most of their neighbours, that in order to make many of the anti-social medicines of sorcery effective, a sorcerer must copulate with some partner morally forbidden to him (or her), such as a close relative or a person of greatly disparate age or an animal. With this background of belief, Ngoni say that after puberty young men and women naturally like to frolic together and not with their juniors. Within this framework of tolerated covert activity no particular arrangements are made at puberty, save that if a man is betrothed to a young girl he will be invited formally to come and sleep with her once while she is secluded.

Thus from an early age their future roles as husbands and wives condition the sexual activities of boys and girls. A girl who allows herself to be seduced too easily is regarded as foolish and a man who is for ever chasing unmarried girls when he should be founding a family is regarded as immature. But sexual activity is taken for granted, and the only stipulations are that it should be conducted discreetly so that the older people in the village are not forced to notice it, and that unmarried girls should not bear live children. Knowledge of abortifacients seems to be fairly common and recently contraceptives, issued originally to soldiers in the 1939-45 war, have come into use. Few cases of seduction of unmarried girls come before the courts.

Despite the emphasis on sexual satisfaction rather than on fertility, Ngoni men and women still desire children. This is so for men despite the low incidence of bridewealth payments and the uncertainty about the custody of children. A man's children may decide to live with their mother's people, but they are still his children and he can always follow them from village to village in his old age wherever they decide to settle.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

married women chosen for them by their kinsfolk while they were away during the 1939-45 war. If the woman selected for him by one relative is unsatisfactory, a man may turn to another relative for help, as is shown in the following incident.

Case history 5

Ahab, a young man of about twenty, was working in Fort Jameson. He wrote to his father in the village enclosing money for the legalization payment, asking that his father should find him a wife. His father spoke to a friend living in another village who had an unmarried daughter. The friend agreed that his daughter should marry Ahab, but the girl said that she wanted to see Ahab before making up her mind about him. Ahab was told of the arrangement but refused to agree to it, saying that he knew that the girl chosen was a prostitute.

Ahab then asked a classificatory grandmother to find him a wife. This woman found a girl and when Ahab came home from work he and a friend went for a walk to the girl's village to spy her out. The friend, on seeing the girl, advised Ahab against marrying her and the negotiations again fell through.

Ahab asked his grandmother to try again and this time he approved of the girl selected. The legalization payment was made and the girl came to live in Ahab's village with his grandmother. After a week or so, she was taken by the grandmother and other important women of the village into the township to start living with Ahab.

On the other hand a man may desist from marrying the girl of his choice in the face of parental opposition. For example, the first girl that Amos found for himself was opposed by his father because her father was a sorcerer; the second on the ground that her parents were unreliable and that she was a cross-cousin, a point against her in that Amos's brother had married a cross-cousin and the marriage was not a success; only with the third choice did the father agree to his marriage.

The initiative in arranging a marriage lies with the man and his kin rather than with the woman, and a girl who goes too much out of her way to attract a husband risks her reputation and may be regarded as a potential prostitute. On elopement, it is the woman who runs off to the man's village or to his place of work, and it might be expected that her relatives would initiate action to bring her back or to claim damages for abduction. Sometimes a man does take action against the lover with whom his daughter has run away, and the lover pays a beast. Another man, however, may take no steps to follow his runaway daughter, merely refusing to recognize the existence of any marriage between her and her lover, and sometimes denying any knowledge of the lover's name. If the woman shows no sign of returning to her own village, efforts may be made to bring her children back to her parents to be brought up. Sometimes a man who has eloped with a woman later approaches her parents, apologizes for his precipitate action and makes them gifts, after which they may decide to recognize him as a son-in-law.

If a man shows his intention of marrying despite the disapproval of his close kin, they can retaliate by not helping him financially,

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

602 593 684 692 that she intends to seek divorce if he does not reply. If the address of the migrant labourer is unknown to his relatives or to his wife, the court endeavours to trace him through the Administration. Thus the husband's kin usually try to prove in court that the woman is seeking divorce because she has another husband in view, and sometimes imply that she has been committing adultery with him. I heard one man oppose the plea for divorce presented by the wife of an absent kinsman by saying that he was sure the woman had been committing adultery but that he had been unable to catch her in the act. Let the court postpone the case until he had good evidence and then he would agree to the plea. The husband's relatives are more certain of £3 damages if they can prove adultery, and the money is paid to them on behalf of the absent man. For her part the woman usually denies that she has any thought of remarriage. She arrives in court in her oldest and shabbiest clothes, to demonstrate both her husband's failure to clothe her and her own lack of desire to attract other men.

593 684 The general principle that no court action involving the husband's sexual rights can be taken without his consent applies even to cases of incest. It may be well known that a woman is living incestuously with, say, her father, but the husband's relatives cannot take her to court without the permission of the husband. Many husbands, on hearing from their relatives that their wives are committing adultery or are pregnant by other men, prefer to let the matter stand over until their return to the village which may be several years hence. Thus one woman may have been sleeping with her father for many years, and another have a growing brood of adulterine children, before at last they are brought to court by their returned husbands.

578 602 Even when a man and his wife are both living in the towns, their relatives may be called upon to settle differences between them. In one instance that came to my notice, a man and his wife both from the same village were living together in Lusaka. The woman [845] had a still-birth and her husband went to a diviner to discover who [787] was responsible for this. He was told by the diviner that his wife [154] had been bewitched by his father's brother's son, who was also in Lusaka. The man wrote home to the village to complain. A meeting was held attended by important people in the village, and it was decided to write back and tell the two men that they must not be so foolish as to quarrel in this way. Not all men who go away remain in such close touch with the village but there is a great deal of correspondence back and forth, and this is augmented by the news brought by friends who come home. The intervention in a marital quarrel in the towns is one aspect of the way in which the field of social relations held in common by rural villagers stretches out to include kinsmen and former neighbours working many hundreds of miles away. Men who fall sick in Southern Rhodesia are fetched and escorted home, fathers go on holiday to visit their

167 602

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Administrative ruling that no new village could be started without a minimum of ten taxpayers, and earlier it was the policy of the Administration to decrease the number of independent villages. These policies have now changed, and throughout the period there have always been devices for lessening their effect, but it is still true that sometimes the easiest way for a man to flee from his kinsmen is to build his hut in his wife's village.

Case history 14

Samuel's father was headman of a village. Samuel[28] married in the village and had four sons by his wife before she died. His second wife lived with him virilocally and after she had borne two children she committed adultery with one of Samuel's elder brothers. Samuel divorced her and married a third wife who died soon after. Samuel accused his brothers of killing his first and third wives by sorcery. He married a fourth wife and went to live in her village, taking with him his four sons by his first wife and the elder child by his second wife. He is still registered at his father's village and attends there whenever the District Officer tours the area, but he has little to do with his brothers.

In this way the movements of men and women between villages reflect the struggles between kinsfolk and between affines. Besides the formation of new villages, which goes on despite obstacles placed in the way, there is a continual reshuffling of the elements making up the existing villages. Through marriage a man acquires affines and through them places where he can live if he wants to do so. This change in the structure of the village is therefore related to the new role of villages in the administrative scheme, the new rules for their formation, and the new kinds of movement from one village to another. By reason of his marriages the number of moves that a man can make if need be is increased.

3. Polygyny

The other important structural change that has been directly related to external influences is the decreased incidence of polygyny. In the old days a man acquired dependants in two ways, by begetting them and by capturing them. Wealth consisted of cattle and dependants, and the well-remembered names of the past are those of patriarchs with dozens of wives whose offspring now form the core of many villages. Nowadays the missions oppose polygyny, wealth can be acquired in other ways than by the marriage of daughters, and a variety of relatives with different genealogical ties can be gathered round one as dependants. It is rare to find a man with as many as five wives. With the decline in polygyny the system of ranking that was used to organize large compound households has fallen into decay, and except when the issue has been complicated by the payment of bridewealth, wives are simply ranked in chronological order of marriage. With the increased importance

[28] See genealogy, p. 81.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

to the kin of the married couple however much the kin may intervene in the marriage and act on behalf of the couple.

The belief in the occurrence of such diseases as *mdulo* and *lugola* supports the values of Ngoni society, and acts as a check on behaviour which is wrong in Ngoni eyes. Beliefs in the efficacy of medicines do not have such a straightforward moral connotation, for in theory it is as easy for a man to harm the wife of someone else by the use of medicines, or for a woman to harm her co-wife, as it is for a man to harm his cuckold. Medicines can, therefore, be used for good or ill, depending on the intentions of those who manipulate them. Even the possibility of anti-social manipulation of medicines can, however, have a positive effect, as we have seen in the way in which a wife is encouraged to live demurely without attracting the attention of other men, lest when she spurns their advances they retaliate with medicines to harm her in childbirth. Old people like to maintain that in 'the time of peace' the Ngoni did not use medicines at all, although from what we know of the Zulu and other South-Eastern Bantu tribes from which the Ngoni came, this is almost certainly untrue. 'Our spears were our medicines', they say, meaning that when the state was powerful both internally and in relation to their neighbours, law and order and the wishes of the Paramount Chief could be enforced by physical sanctions. Only now, when the chieftainship has lost so much of its former power and men and women can do wrong without fear of punishment in the courts, is it necessary to fall back on mystical processes in an attempt to control other people's behaviour. By contrast the mystical diseases which can only be caught through socially disapproved actions operated at both stages of Ngoni history, although *mdulo* itself, unlike *lugola* and other similar conditions, appears to have been introduced by the Cewa.[8]

To a lesser extent the fear of venereal disease may be said to act as a stabilizing factor, since men admit that they are cautious in running after women on farms, in Fort Jameson and away in the big towns, because they fear syphilis. In the village an infected woman, if she cannot conceal her condition, is shunned by careful men, and a newcomer to the village who starts to flirt with her may be taken aside by an older man and warned of the risk of infection. It is an actionable offence for one partner in a marriage to transmit venereal disease to the other. Venereal disease is, however, commonly believed to be widespread and the fear of it cannot be said to be an efficient deterrent of adultery.

Despite the mystical safeguards and despite the fairly well defined rights *in uxorem*, marriage is not regarded as a permanent bond. There is a maxim 'Never confide in your wife, for tomorrow you may divorce her.' Consanguinity is permanent and unchangeable and a man should confide in a brother rather than in his wife. The

[8] Cf. Read, op. cit. 'The moral code . . .', p. 7.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

unity of full-siblings is the result of the established relationship between their mother and father. A man's relationship with his wife may in turn lead to solidarity between their children, but until his wife has stayed with him for many years and borne him live children their own relationship is always uncertain. He must acknowledge that she too has rights, that she must be clothed and respected and must be slept with. He must not abuse her at a beer party or hit her too often, and he must not try to trap her into adultery. When she runs away, he must go after her to apologize.

8. The support of relatives

It is the tenuousness of the marriage relationship which necessitates the co-operation of the relatives in the marriage. There are occasions when affines quarrel, as when a young woman is encouraged by her husband's kin to remain in their village to be delivered of her first child and at the same time is under pressure from her own relatives to move back to her own village for the confinement. A man who is anxious to build up his own cluster of huts in a village may attempt to force his sons and daughters to bring their spouses to live near him against the wishes of his children's affines. These struggles, where they occur, are expressed in terms of residence, for it is common residence that welds kinsfolk together. But in general affines co-operate rather than quarrel. Litigation about marriage payments is rare, and frequently divorces are granted without consideration of the return of marriage payments. During a marriage it is more important that the married couple should be exhorted to adjust themselves to each other and be tolerant of each other's foibles, than that each side should insist on its formal rights. Old people try to prevent marriages they consider unsuitable, but they do not usually try to make difficulties once a marriage has taken place. The successful marriages of a man's children bring him grandchildren to care for and play with, and *children's parents-in-law* who will welcome him and give him food, even if they do not always add to his own cluster of huts.

To some degree people appear to be afraid of the sorcery of an offended affine, but this is not a well-developed idea, and more frequently people express their reasons for trying to patch up a marriage that is in danger of breaking in terms of the need for everyone to 'live well together', without bringing troubles into the village. The well-being of the village and of the local group of kinsfolk within it has ultimate value for the Ngoni and is an end in itself. It follows that serious quarrels can only be resolved by means of some new residential alignment, involving moves from one cluster to another, and from one village to another. The village itself does not exist in isolation, and a village thrives because of the ties that link it to other villages in the vicinity. Marriages link villages together, by the bonds of affinity which cut across village boundaries, and by the interaction between groups of affines

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

I

THE ORDEAL POISON

I. In the event of a chief's wife dying, or perhaps his child, the chief holds a consultation with the village elders, saying, "You at the village here, we wish to consult the oracle." At the "chief's" ordeal they summon all the headmen, but in the case of the "people's" ordeal, every one partakes of the poison. When they see that people are often dying they talk it over with the headmen, saying, "Look here at the village, here people are dying and we wish to summon the medicine man, that he may follow up the clue for us at the village." So they send one youth to summon the medicine man. He arrives very late in the evening. They put him in some hut, without people knowing that he has come. In the morning a young man gets up, and goes and stands at the open space in the village [where the men sit and talk, and where the different disputes are settled], and when he has climbed on an ant-hill, that all men may hear, he says, "Do you hear, you must not eat your '*nsima*' porridge to-day; he who is asleep let him arise that he may himself hear. They are saying you all must bathe, you taste a little of the beer that is not sweet, to-day."

II. He who was about to have his morning sup, pushes aside his flour against the hut wall, he begins

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

754 695 791 to hide his household goods for, says he, "How do we know we shall return from there." And all their beads are taken off. When they see the sun is beginning to rise, every one assembles. And then they begin to pick out some strong young men, saying, "So and so must stay behind, and so and so, they must look after their companions and keep guard over the village, lest the medicine man's children begin to pillage the property of them who do not die." And then they begin to set out to go to the spot the poison is to be drunk at, and they [412] carry in readiness a grain mortar and a pestle (just any mortar), and follow the path in single file, and come to where the witch doctor is, and he begins to arrange them in a line; they do not turn their backs to the sun, the women spread out in one line, the men in another. The place is black with people. [242] The medicine man has his feather head-dress on, and goat's-hair bands are round his wrists. And then some old man gets up to present that for which the medicine is pounded, perhaps a goat, and this is for opening his bag [where he keeps the poison].

III. Thereupon the doctor says, "Give to me the spirit of the dead." Then that old man gets up, and going up to the village chief, tells him "The doctor is seeking the spirit of the dead." And the chief speaks, saying, "Well, and know you not them who have died here?" And then the old man gives him, the doctor, the spirit, saying, "Here so and so, and so and so have died, and it is on their account we summon you." Then the pounder of the poison says, "Give to me the partakers of human flesh who have eaten these ones you name." And then they call up two people, a man and a woman, saying, "Let her of the race of the Hills, and him of such and such a clan come here." And them they thus called come and stand near the mortar. Then

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

the pounder of the ordeal poison opens his monkey-skin wallet, pulls out the poison bark, and breaks it off into the mortar with a hippo's tooth. When he is chipping it off, he does not finish all the bark he has in his hand, he chips off a little and leaves the rest. When he is doing this the bark jumps, and falls on the left, and again on the right. They surely know that here to-day wonders will befall and that men will die and women. Then the medicine man says, "Give us men to go and draw water." Then the old man asks, "How many men shall we bring?" And perhaps he says, "Bring three, because the people are many," and the doctor tells them, "You must not glance behind, but just draw the water and return." (Lest they give warning to the flesh-eaters.) When he has finished cutting down the bark, he bids his attendant "begin to pound." They do not pound the poison bark as they would grain, they pound, thud! thud! and turn the pestle in the hands. While the attendant is pounding, the pounder of the bark keeps tapping, rat, tat, tat, on the mortar, with his monkey stick [which monkeys use for digging roots], and chants—

IV. "You have heard mother of children,
Mother of children of *Kundamva*.
Indiscriminate slaughter is the game war plays,
It slew the baboon at *Bongwe*,
When you slay let your victims fall backward and not forward.
Bag, make the poison hear my words.
You are come into the village, you are their advocate.
They say, that here so and so and so and so have died.

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

754
695
791
539

It is to plead for them you have been summoned.
There they are, she of the house of the Hills, and he of so and so's clan.
She of the Hills, it is she who has taken the basket.
He, the man, took the little sharp knife,
If it be not you, on the spot, on the spot, you must vomit,
If it be you,
Oh slay, slay, slay."

When they come with the water, the medicine man takes a water-jar full, and pours it into the mortar. You can hear the froth come foaming up, and then he draws a cup of the poison and struts about stirring it with his monkey stick, and uttering this incantation—

"Pick them out, pick them out, pick them out,
You see only the morning's sun, its rays when sinking in the west you must not see.
Are you not that one?
You went to Zomba,
You beat the drum,
It was heard in the 'Never-reach-there country' of the fly,
The spurred fly.
There is a squint-eyed lizard there.
If it were not you who beat that drum,
You must vomit.
If it were you,
You must die.

V. "You went into the regions of the air,
You captured a ray of the sun,
You likened it unto a girdle,
Saying, 'Do you be my strength,
That when the poison comes,

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

754
695
791
539

You will give me the mastery over it,
I shall win,
This girdle do you sever, sever, sever.'
You swallowed the egg of a fish-eagle,
That the poison when it came might become as naught,
This egg you must smash.

" You took the spleen of a crocodile,
You laid it in your heart,
You took a python's belly,
You swallowed it, that power might be yours,
Do you [my poison bark] rend these.

" You took wax,
You smeared it on your feet,
Going in your neighbours' fields,
Going with stealthy tread to gather up his grain,
To dust off again in your own garden,
Your companions are in want,
You have wealth to overflowing.

VI. " When you see your neighbour's child,
You say, 'Why should he walk thus at large?'
But surely I had better have eaten him
He who thinks thus shall enter here [into the mortar].

" The broken gourd-cups off the grave you beat together, that they might turn into snakes.
Was it not you who sang the song, saying,
'If it be large and heavy, if it be large and heavy, if it be large and heavy,
They go about rolling it,
If it be small and light, they just lift it' [the corpse].

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

754 695 791 539

Was it not you who sang so?
I seem to think I heard you.

"That little razor have you brought it now?
No, I have forgotten it [supposed answer].

"Maiden, beautiful maiden, E! E! E!
You took the arm-bones of the children of men,
You used to go and dance with them,
The squint-eyed lizard is on his seat, and
Sounding the drum,
Wheeling ever one way.
Now in the opposite direction, see they have rent the drum.

"There is a thing that walks by night,
There is something that comes by day,
It has seen him."

754 695 791

VII. "No, to-day we have met each other, the boundary is there, from the east to the zenith is yours, from the zenith to the west is mine alone." He kneels down where one of the human flesh-eaters is, he does not address the demon himself, but talks with another who is next him, and says, "My child, where did you get your black magic; did you get it that you might be all-powerful, you alone?" When he gets up he exclaims, "I have got you, you must not escape, you must go in there, in there, you must enter here" [into the mortar]. When he sees that his attendant has finished pounding the poison, he takes some water and pours it into the mortar, and stirs it, and removes the dregs and takes two gourd-cups, and fills them with the poison. The woman and the man, they are the first to drink. Then the doctor makes every one else do so. Two men drink, he draws again, and gives two women. And so on until all have partaken.

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

VIII. Then the witch finder says, "That beer I had great trouble in buying, you must not waste it, no, you there, we only told you to sip it, do not you see it is a small pot." Then he knocks down the mortar with his foot, and beats together two pieces of metal. When he sees that one human flesh-eater is dead, he says he has caused the mortar to fall. Some, when dying, cry out [like a hyæna]. "Uwi, uwi"; and people know he used to transform himself into that animal; should he roar like a lion, they know he was at times that mighty beast. Others again, when dying, clench their hands. Should they clench one hand, it is known they have eaten five people; if they clench both, men know their victims have been ten. When all have vomited, he causes the survivors to jump over the path. When he sees a man has jumped, he knows that one is an ordinary person and not an eater of human flesh, and the reason the doctor knows this is because he has washed the poison with a medicine made from the "*siswiri*" mouse [and it cannot cross a path and live]. Then the medicine man says, "Let them return to the village now, where a tree has fallen you cannot hide the fall thereof." Any one who has withstood all these tests, on seeing the grass tuft on his hut, dies. When the doctor hears a man has died, he goes to the place to strip him of his cloth and cut off the belt of beads from his waist. Of them who die at the drinking-place and who are free born, their friends make some payment to the doctor, saying, father has died from the poison. Anything the dead man be a slave they burn the body. They who remained behind at the village will drink on the morrow. The pounder of the poison, on returning to his home, is given a goat, perhaps a slave whose "Let me go and bury them." Should the dead

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

754 695 791 [715] human flesh-eaters may have worn, the doctor takes home with him and washes his poison bark with it, that it may still retain its virtue. In the case of a man who dies from drinking the poison, his spirit is not brought back to the village, but is driven out into the bush.

II

A FUNERAL

764 I. When a person dies every one is told that so and so, who was ill, is "finished for." Then the village elders come together and go into his hut. They begin to bathe the body and anoint it with oil, folding the knees against the chest, and laying the palms of the hands against the cheeks, the arms being bent from the elbows. Then they take a large flat stone, set it against the hut wall, and on it place the body in a sitting position. Then they commence to wail, the women folk only are in the hut where the corpse is, the men are outside, and the children on the verandah. They lament, saying, "Alas, alas, my husband, what shall I do this day?" [The women pass the night in the hut with the dead body, the men sleep outside.] Next morning, when it is dawn, some men take their hoes, and sacrificial flour, and go to some resting-place on the wayside, and sprinkle some flour at the foot of a tree, and set out again, and when now they are drawing near the burial ground, the one who is in front picks up a stone and throws it, with the words, "We have passed." Then they commence to clear a piece of ground, and take the flour and mark out the grave.

Ih Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

173

Circa

1846. Death of Ntabeni in U'fipa country.

1847. Death of Gwaza Tole in U'fipa country. Northward trek of a body of Ngoni led by Mgai.

1848. Ngoni at Victoria Nyanza.

1849. Death of Mgai in Sukuma country. Zulu Gama and his people broke away into Songea. They were followed by Mombera's adherents, who caught them up. Mombera's people badly beaten; the fight took place near Old Langenburg. Mombera returned.

1850. Mpezeni and Mperembe break away and enter the Wiza and Wemba country. Mombera and Mtwalu move to the Henga country.

1855. Mombera's Ngoni in the Tumbuka country in the vicinity of Hora Mountain.

1856. Mpezeni skirted the Wemba country on southward migration and raided Wiza and Lala tribes en route, east of Bangweulu.

1858. Death of Manukusa; his son, Maweva, succeeds him.

1860. Mpezeni's Ngoni at Cheronga on the Mchinga escarpment where an encampment was made, crops were grown, and local natives raided for slaves. Maweva defeated by Mzila, son of Manukusa.

1861. Mzila takes chieftainship.

1861. Uloziba, Great Wife of Mzilikazi, died at Inyati, Oct. 5th, 1861.

1862. Zumbo Boma re-occupied by Albino Manuel Pacheeho.

1865. Mpezeni's Ngoni at Mkoma and Mbangombe Hills. Further encampment. Tsingu Jere born, son of Mpezeni Jere by his wife, Lupoko.

1866. Zula Gama crossed the Shire river, 5th September. Death of Chief Mzilikazi at Inyati. Mpezeni at Mpinduka Hill, Matambadzi Stream. Death of Induna Njekwane. Mperembe's Ngoni defeated by the combined forces of Arab traders and Wemba near Chikumbo, Lake Bangweulu district.

1869. Mombera turned back, crossed the Luangwa river and joined Mtwalu and Mperembe in the Tumbuka country.

1870. Lobengula, son of Mzilikazi by his wife, Fulata, crowned King of the Ama-Tebele.

1873. Mpezeni at Mtenguleni-Uka-Sosera V. at the Lutembwe. R. Mpezeni at the Mulpasi river.

●[154] 1878. "Ningi," sister of Lobengula, murdered on an alleged charge of witchcraft, causing Lobengula's wife, Loseleyi, to have a still born child.

1880. Massacre of the Tumbuka on Hora Mountain by Mombera's Ngoni.

1881. Mpezeni at Langeni Village. Visited by Carl Wiese.

1884. Death of Mzila, known to the Ngoni as Kaulandwa.